DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 281 788 SO 017 874

AUTHOR Brodber, Erna
TITLE Rural-Urban Migration and the Jamaican Child. PICPEMCE Technical Documents No. 5.
INSTITUTION United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Santiago (Chile). Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean.
PUB DATE Jul 86
NOTE 36p.; Table 3 contains small print.
AVAILABLE FROM UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Enrique Delpiano 2058, Plaza Pedro de Valdivia, Casilla 3187, Santiago, Chile.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; *Migrant Children; Migrant Education; Primary Education; Psychology; *Rural to Urban Migration; Social Science Research; *Sociocultural Patterns; Sociology; Student Mobility; *Urban Demography; Urban Population; *Urban Studies
IDENTIFIERS *Jamaica

ABSTRACT

The Census of Jamaica conducted in 1982 is the most recent survey of internal migration in Jamaica. To determine the sociological, psychological, and anthropological factors which influence the educational adaptation of children moving from rural zones to urban environments in Jamaica, this census and additional interviews with children in five primary-level schools in the City of Kingston were used. The study concludes that children who migrate into Kingston usually do so between the ages of five and ten. Migration, in Jamaica, has been traditional since the 1930s. It also has some psychological trauma associated with it. The life-style that motivates migration is often replicated in the city with its density of migrants from the countryside. Educators have the power and responsibility to help migrant children adjust to the urban environment. (BZ)

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RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND THE JAMAICAN CHILD

Erna Brodber

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Santiago de Chile, 1986.

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REGIONAL OFFICE FOR EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND THE JAMAICAN CHILD

Erna Brodber

THE MAJOR PROJECT IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION
In The Latin American and Caribbean Region

PICPEMCE
Technical Documents No. 5

Santiago, Chile, July 1986

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PRESENTATION

In order to improve the quality and efficiency of education, the third objective of the Mayor Project in the Field of Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Member States of UNESCO invited the Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC) to establish a Programme for Innovation and Change in the Preparation of Educator (PIPEMCE). This network is now functioning in some 16 countries of the region.

To facilitate the development of the Network it was considered necessary to foment the interchange of technical materials with the goal that each institution could see the methodological variations which are being given to the problem of training in the region and make the necessary adjustments within their own national context. This series of "Technical Documents" is designed to meet that objective.

The document which follows is a study of the sociological, psychological and anthropological factors which influence the educational adaptation of children moving from rural zones to urban environments in Jamaica, stressing their importance in the development of the primary school curricula. Suggestions are made as to the manner in which the Educational system might contribute to the delimitation of the trauma which the children face in their need to adapt to a new cultural and social environment in the city.

A resume of the study in Spanish is included.

RESUMEN

Este es un estudio de los factores sociológicos, sicológicos y antropológicos que inciden en la adaptación de los niños que se trasladan de las zonas rurales a las urbanas en Jamaica e indica su importancia para el desarrollo de los currículos de nivel primario. Debido a las restricciones de tiempo y a una huelga general de profesores que impedía el acceso a clases, este estudio es tentativo.

Por medio del Censo de Jamaica (1982) y de entrevistas a niños de escuelas primarias de cinco niveles en la Ciudad de Kingston, se estableció que la migración hacia y dentro de la ciudad continúa. Es la migración hacia la ciudad la que nos interesa. Descubrimos que los niños están entre las personas que migran dentro de la ciudad y que lo hacen por lo general entre los cinco y diez años de edad. La migración del campo a la ciudad es tradicional en Jamaica.

Existen algunos traumas sicológicos asociados a ella: a menudo no es sólo un esfuerzo para ganar más dinero, sino un esfuerzo para escapar de un determinado estilo de vida que motiva la migración. Pero la gente lleva su cultura consigo debido a la lenta tasa de movilidad social y geográfica en la ciudad y a la densidad de migración desde las áreas rurales, los migrantes se encuentran viviendo dentro de una cultura que ellos pensaron haber dejado atrás. La actitud de los ambiciosos es hacer un gran esfuerzo para escapar. Dentro de este contexto socio-sicológico llegan niños ya socializados dentro del desvalorizado sistema rural, para reunirse con sus padres -generalmente su madre-

en la ciudad. Ellos se ven forzados a compartir el trauma de sus padres.

Sugerimos que este trauma no debería producirse e indicamos cómo el sistema educacional puede aliviarlo y al mismo tiempo terminar con la migración hacia la ciudad.

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the sociological, psychological and anthropological factors which influence the educational adaptation of children moving from rural zones to urban environments in Jamaica, indicating their importance to the development of primary level curricula. Because of the time restrictions and a general teachers' strike which inhibited access to the classroom, this study has to be tentative.

We have used the Census of Jamaica (1982) and interviews with children in five primary level schools in the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (see Appendix 1 for interview schedule) as our data base. After our exposure to these data, we conclude that there in a case for examining further the effects of rural-urban migration on Jamaican children. We thing too that there is a case for looking at the effects of intra-city migration on primary level children in Jamaica.

1. RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN JAMAICA

The Census of Jamaica fielded in 1982, is the most recent survey of internal migration in Jamaica. According to this Census, the parish of Kingston is the second most popular receiver of migrants. It is surpassed by the parish of St. Andrew, a neighbouring parish (see map on the following page), parts of which have, since 1924 been incorporated in the parish of Kingston to become the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (KSAC), the island's major metropolitan area. It is this area -the parish of Kingston plus parts of the parish of St. Andrew- which is referred to in Jamaica as the "City of Kingston" and to which we refer when we talk in this study of "urban area".

The Statistical Institute of Jamaica estimates that there were in Jamaica in 1982, 1 023 217 females and 980 834 males scattered throughout the island's fourteen parishes 1/. As tables 1 and 2 below show, in 1982, 27 982 of these females had moved to or within Kingston before settling in their present Kingston abodes; 22 135 males had done likewise. For St. Andrew, 161 305 females and 129 937 males had been born somewhere other than their present urban location. The figures obtainable from the Census at this stage, do not detail the areas of St. Andrew to which Jamaicans moved in such numbers, but since that part of the parish which is not in the Corporation is mountainous and not easily accessible, it is fair to assume that the migration figures relate to the areas which are part of the City of Kingston.

1/ Demographic Statistics, Jan. to June 1984, The Statistical Institute of Jamaica (August) 1984).

MAP OF JAMAICA SHOWING THE PARISHES AND THE CITY OF KINGSTON

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Table 1

SHOWING MIGRANTS TO AND WITHIN KINGSTON BY PARISH OF BIRTH AND NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED IN KINGSTON. ONLY THE THREE MAJOR SENDING PARISHES ARE LISTED

	Females				Males			
Kingston	Total (for all parishes)	Kingston	St. Eliza-beth	Claredon	Total (for all parishes)	Kingston	St. Eliza-beth	St. Cath-erine
Total (years)	27 982	2 635	2 452	1 861	22 135	2 567	1 523	1 366
0 - 4	3 965	410	379	303	2 759	389	222	220
5 - 9	2 886	214	336	278	2 110	196	211	167
10 - 14	3 137	174	376	287	2 457	194	287	184
15 - 19	2 099	114	229	191	1 565	118	170	122
20 - 24	2 286	74	284	201	1 764	77	161	132
25 - 29	1 222	43	152	103	931	31	84	80
30 - 39	2 132	57	238	178	1 501	52	142	132
40 - 49	1 375	53	153	105	1 044	32	67	129
50 - 59	824	17	117	63	550	24	53	68
60 and over	570	16	56	42	285	19	22	29
Not stated	7 486	1 463	134	110	7 169	1 435	104	103

Source: Tables 93 and 94, Parish of Kingston Population Census 1982 Jamaica, Statistical Institute of Jamaica (unpublished).

Table 2

SHOWING MIGRANTS TO AND WITHIN ST. ANDREW BY PARISH OF BIRTH AND NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED IN ST. ANDREW. ONLY THE THREE MAJOR SENDING PARISHES ARE LISTED

	Females				Males			
St. Andrew	Total (for all parishes)	Kingston	St. Elizabeth	St. Catherine	Total (for all parishes)	Kingston	St. Andrew	St. Mary
Total (years)	161 305	30 179	10 159	10 120	129 937	27 728	8 462	7 747
0 - 4	28 828	4 715	2 398	2 463	19 633	3 969	1 205	1 447
5 - 9	20 508	3 607	1 842	1 651	15 013	3 225	785	1 147
10 - 14	17 414	2 465	1 643	1 498	13 489	2 296	595	1 132
15 - 19	11 006	1 624	1 054	924	8 179	1 481	364	724
20 - 24	10 717	1 425	1 020	965	8 431	1 299	330	868
25 - 29	5 279	738	506	467	4 192	658	174	473
30 - 39	6 619	800	600	655	5 570	742	268	767
40 - 49	3 496	388	320	367	2 913	323	126	422
50 - 59	1 794	206	187	185	1 257	146	63	127
60 and over	1 052	130	96	122	611	86	53	60
Not stated	54 592	14 051	493	811	50 649	13 523	4 499	580

Source: Tables 93 and 94, Parish of St. Andrew Population Census 1982 Jamaica, Statistical Institute of Jamaica (unpublished).

As tables 1 and 2 show, the greatest number of female migrants to or within Kingston on which there are data relating to their length of stay, have moved to their present adresses within four years of the Census date (1982), that is, 1978 or later. The same is true for males. The number of females moving into or within Kingston in this period was 3 965 and the number of males 2 759. The pattern in St. Andrew is the same. The greatest number of females migrants -28 828- have been at their urban addresses only since 1978 and the greatest number of male migrants -19 633- have been there only since 1978. The next most popular length of stay for migrants living in Kingston in 1982 was 10-14 years. They moved to or within Kingston between 1968 and 1972. As the tables 1 and 2 show, 3 137 females fell in this category and 2 457 males. Only 2 886 female and 2 110 male migrants have been in their present abode in Kingston for between 9 and 5 years. These figures suggest that some unusual occurrence caused migration to and within Kingston to accelerate in the 0-4 years category, that is after 1977.

The pattern of migration for St. Andrew is different. With respect to both males and females, there has been a steady rise in movement between the period 10-14 years, that is 1968-1972 and the period 0-4 years, that is 1978-1982. For females, it was 17 414 in the 10-14 years category (1968-1972), 20 508 in the 5-9 years category (1973-1977) and as we have before indicated, 28 828 in the 0-4 years category (1978-1982). For males, it was 13 489 in the 10-14 years category (1968-1972), 15 013 in the 5-9 years category (1973-1977) and 19 633 in the 0-4 years category (1978-1982). What is significant in St. Andrew is the massive increase in movements between the 15-19 years category and the 10-14 years category. For females, the number who had migrated to or within the parish, 15-19 years before the Census date, was 11 006 and among males, it was 8 179.

The figures presented in the Census data and which appear in tables 1 and 2 describe some special features of migration of Jamaicans from the rural areas to the City of Kingston and within the city. These are (i) female dominance, (ii) recent increase (1978-

1982), (iii) in Kingston a tapering off of movement and then a sudden rise, (iv) in St. Andrew, a continuous flow increasing heavily after 1968. The primary school years in Jamaica are 6+ to 15 years. The children currently in primary school would have been born between 1971 and 1980. The act of migration to or within the city, the reasons for migration and the inevitable problems of re-settling might have deleterious consequences on their formal education.

It is a fair assumption, but not yet a fact, that children were among the 27 982 females and 22 135 males who lived elsewhere before settling in their present homes in Kingston and the 161 305 females and 129 937 males who lived elsewhere before the Census-takers found them in their present St. Andrew homes. We do not yet know for sure; nor do we know the sociological, anthropological and psychological factors attending their possible migration.

Tables 1 and 2 tell us where the migrants were born. Most of the females moving to and within Kingston -2 635- were born in Kingston. The next most popular place of birth was St. Elizabeth and the next Claredon. St. Elizabeth (see map) is a south-western parish about 80 miles from Kingston. Claredon is about 40 miles from the City of Kingston. Most of the male migrants were also from Kingston. The next most popular place of birth was St. Elizabeth and the next St. Catherine, a parish which adjoins Kingston. For the parish of St. Andrew, the largest sender by far of females was Kingston (30 179), followed by St. Elizabeth (10 159) and St. Catherine (10 120). Among the males, Kingston was also by far the largest sender followed by St. Andrew itself (8 462) and St. Mary (7 747). We have a situation then where internal migration within the Corporate Area is far more voluminous than that from any of the heaviest rural sending areas which, according to the figures presented, are the parish of St. Catherine, which adjoins Kingston, St. Mary which shares a border with St. Andrew and the two south-westerly parishes, St. Elizabeth and Claredon. Now we know the areas from which migrants moved to their present homes. We still need to know, in order to guess at the effects of migration on formal schooling, whether children were involved in the migration.

2. SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN AND MIGRATION

To get some idea of the incidence of migration among primary level children, we collected data from them in the schools. "Primary level" students, were for us children 6+ - 14+ years old. Age six is when most Jamaican children enter into formal schooling; 14+ is when many leave school to enter the job market. There are several kinds of schools which cater to children of this age. There are "preparatory schools" (prep schools) which service the 4-11 age group and there are high schools which see to the training of the children eleven years and over. "Prep" schools cost and only the children of the small middle and upper classes attend these. High schools too cost but free places can be gained through passing the "common entrance" examinations. In this case, the government pays the cost of tuition. There are not enough free places for all; the majority of children therefore fail to get free entry into high schools and since their parents cannot pay school fees, high school is "verboten" to most Jamaican children.

We are left now with what used to be called "elementary schools". Here the government offers free schooling to children aged 6+ to age 14+. More recently, these "elementary schools" have been divided into "primary schools" and "all age schools" and another kind added, the "new secondary school". Primary schools keep children from age 6+ to age 11+. After this age, the children enter "secondary schools". We usually find "primary schools" in areas where there is a "new secondary school" to which graduates of "primary schools" may go. The "all age schools" are like the old elementary schools: they keep children from age 6+ to age 14+. We restricted our search to children in

"primary schools" and in "all age schools". We selected five schools, one of which -Elletson- was a "primary school". In some schools, a shift system exists. There is a morning shift and an evening one. This was the case in three of the five schools which we chose to study. In only one did we collect information from both shifts. In the others we looked at the morning shift.

Using the Ministry of Education's (Jamaica) most recent directory of educational institutions, we selected the two most populous schools in the parish of St. Andrew and the two most populous in the parish of Kingston. These were for St. Andrew, Seward and Whitfield, and for Kingston, Windward Road and Elletson. These schools all fall within the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation -the City of Kingston. The city is zoned for postal purposes. Seward falls in the Kingston 11 zone, Whitfield in the Kingston 13 zone, Elletson in the Kingston 16 zone and Windward Road in the Kingston 2 zone. Seward, according to the directory mentioned above, had 1 981 children on roll; Whitfield had 1 671, Elletson had 1 630 and Windward Road 2 095. In more recent times, the City of Kingston has expanded to allow areas of St. Catherine into the metropolitan area. Independence City is the largest such addition. We chose also to look at the "all age school" in this area. It had an enrollment of 2 610 students and had a shift system.

We entered the field on the 17th of February, that is, immediately after the general teachers' strike. It is very likely that school attendance was less than normal and that the figures which we present in table 3 below under-represent the reality of migration among primary level students. Also we did not collect information on all shifts. In addition, we learnt in the field, that on Fridays no more than two-thirds of the children enrolled attend school. Some of our interviews were done on a Friday. Our five schools represent less than one-tenth of the number of schools in the city. We present however with these limitations, our findings on migration among primary level students into Kingston schools, as a tentative rather than an authoritative statement on rural-urban migration.

Table 3

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN 5 PRIMARY LEVEL SCHOOLS IN THE CITY OF KINGSTON, DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO THE PARISHES FROM WHICH THEY MIGRATED

Grade and School	Not clear	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Port-land	St. Mary	St. Ann	Tre-lawny	St. James	Han-over	West-more-land	St. Eli-zabeth	Man-ches-ter	Clare-don	St. Cath-erine	Total
Grade 1															
Elletson	-	-	10	3	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Independence City	-	-	2	1	5	3	-	-	-	3	9	4	2	8	37
Seward	1	1	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	2	-	4	2	16
Whitfield	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	3	1	-	14
Windward Road	3	1	9	-	6	6	1	6	-	4	4	3	2	1	46
Subtotal	6	2	23	5	18	11	4	7	-	8	19	10	9	11	133
Grade 2															
Elletson	1	1	7	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	2	-	2	1	20
Independence City	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	10	2	4	6	27
Seward	1	1	4	1	5	1	-	2	-	-	3	2	4	-	24
Whitfield	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	6
Windward Road	-	-	2	1	4	3	1	-	-	5	3	3	2	2	26
Subtotal	2	2	16	2	13	6	1	3	-	8	18	9	13	10	103
Grade 3															
Elletson	-	-	6	3	5	-	-	4	-	3	3	-	2	4	30
Independence City	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	10	2	4	6	27
Seward	1	3	1	-	3	1	3	-	-	1	1	-	2	3	19
Whitfield	-	-	-	1	4	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	12
Windard Road	1	-	2	2	7	3	4	3	-	2	2	2	1	3	32
Subtotal	2	3	11	6	21	6	7	7	-	8	16	6	10	17	120

Table 3 (continued)

Grade and School	Not clear	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Port-land	St. Mary	St. Ann	Tre-lawny	St. James	Han-over	West-more-land	St. Eli-zabeth	Man-ches-ter	Clare-don	St. Cath-erine	Total
Grade 4															
Elletson	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	2	-	1	2	-	1	2	13
Independence City	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	9	20
Seward	1	3	1	-	3	1	3	-	-	1	1	-	2	3	19
Whitfield	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Windward Road	-	-	4	6	2	3	2	2	1	5	-	4	-	5	34
Subtotal	1	3	6	7	11	7	5	4	1	7	3	8	4	19	86
Grade 5															
Elletson	-	1	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	11
Independence City	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	4	8
Seward	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	3	12
Whitfield	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	2	9
Windward Road	-	-	7	3	1	2	2	-	1	1	-	2	4	6	29
Subtotal	-	1	11	6	5	6	2	1	1	2	4	5	9	16	69
Grade 6															
Elletson	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	-	9
Independence City	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	4	8
Seward	-	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	10
Whitfield	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	8
Windward Road	-	-	3	2	1	-	3	-	1	-	3	3	3	4	23
Subtotal	1	3	5	4	7	2	4	3	1	1	6	7	6	8	58

Table 3 (concluded)

Grade and School	Not clear	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Portland	St. Mary	St. Ann	Trelawny	St. James	Hanover	Westmoreland	St. Elizabeth	Manchester	Clarendon	St. Catherine	Total
Grade 7															
Elletson a/															
Independence City	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	1	6	1	5	-	18
Seward	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
Whitfield	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	11
Windward Road	-	-	2	1	1	4	-	2	-	2	1	1	2	1	17
Subtotal	-	-	3	3	7	9	3	3	-	5	7	3	8	3	54
Grade 8															
Elletson a/															
Independence City	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	7
Seward	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	9
Whitfield	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	1	-	3	-	3	2	-	13
Windward Road	-	-	5	2	3	2	3	2	-	1	1	2	4	2	27
Subtotal	-	-	5	2	9	7	4	3	-	5	3	7	8	3	56
Grade 9															
Elletson a/															
Independence City	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Seward	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Whitfield	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	7
Windward Road	-	1	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	3	16
Subtotal	-	1	3	1	2	3	1	-	-	2	5	4	1	4	27
Total	12	15	83	36	93	57	31	31	3	46	81	59	68	91	706

a/ No grade.

3. SURVEY FINDINGS

Our research indicates that there are children (706) from the rural areas all through the nine grades of the school. These children come from all the rural parishes of Jamaica, Hanover offering the least migrants (3), and the parishes of St. Mary (93) and St. Catherine (91), the most. This is consistent with the Census figures for migration of the total population though one would have expected the parish of St. Elizabeth to figure more than St. Mary, in accordance with the Census figures. The Census was taken in 1982. It is possible that conditions in St. Mary might have so changed that migration out of the parish and into the city has become attractive to more people. The front page article in the Daily Gleaner of Thursday, March 6th, suggests this. The headlines state: "Farm crisis in St. Mary. Situation crucial". It goes on to say that agriculture has collapsed in the parish since 1980.

It appears too that there is a progressive increase in the numbers of children migrating from the rural areas and finding places in the city's schools. The lower grades seem to have more migrating children than the upper. Compare grade 3 with grade 6 for example (see table 3). Altogether there are 120 migrant children in grade 3 and 58 in grade 6. The increase in migration seems even more dramatic when the lowest and the highest grades are compared as in table 4 below. Note that grade 1 has more than twice (113) the number of migrants that grade 9 has (27). Elletson has obviously not been included in this analysis since it has no grades 7, 8 and 9.

Table 4

SHOWING THE NUMBERS OF "MIGRANTS" IN GRADES 1 AND 9 BY SCHOOLS

School	Grades	
	1	9
Independence	37	2
Seward	16	2
Whitfield	14	7
Windward Road	46	16
Total	113	27

In only one school did we ask children how long they had been living in the city. This school was Elletson, the only primary school in the sample. It is difficult to get this kind of information from the very young. We put this question only to grades 2-6 of this primary school. The responses recorded below in table 5 give a close-up view of the relationship between migration and the age of school children.

Grade 6 children are about 11+ years old. The most popular figure in that grade, as the table 5 shows, was less than one year (4). These children must then have come from the country at age 10. Grade 5 children are about 10+ years old. Their most popular figure was 3 years (3). These children migrated to the city at age 7+. Grade 4 were normally 9+ years old. The most popular figure here was 5 years (4). These children were likely to have changed residence at age 4. Grade 3 children are 8+ years old. Their most popular figures were 2 and 3 years (7). They must have come into the city at ages 5+ and 6+. According to this close-up view then, the most popular ages for mi gration of children from the rural zones in Jamaica to the KSAC were 10 years, 7 years, 4 years, 6 and 5 years-times at which children have already become parts of the rural social networks and have absorbed country ways into their personal culture.

Table 5

SHOWING THE AGE AT WHICH "MIGRANTS" IN ELLETSON LEFT THE RURAL ZONES

	Grades			
	3	4	5	6
Less than 1 year	-	-	-	4
1 year	2	-	1	2
2 years	7	2	2	1
3 years	7	2	3	1
4 years	6	1	-	1
5 years	1	4	2	-
6 years	1	-	2	-
7 years	4	1	-	-
Don't know	2	3	1	-
Total	30	13	11	9

4. PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MIGRATION FROM RURAL TO URBAN ZONES

Windward Road is the school with the highest number of migrants. It had 250 on the day of our survey, distributed as per grades in table 6.

On roll there are 2 095 students, which means that a little more than one-tenth of that school's population originated from the country. We counted only those children who said that they were brought up in the country then came to the city to stay. We did not list those who were born in the city, sent back to the country for some time, then sent back to the city again. There were several such cases. Had we included these as well, then the number of children having a rural living experience would have increased. We fell, however, that where we are dealing with education of young minds, 10% of the population is very significant. What we have said of Windward Road school applies with little variation to the others.

Time did not alow serious psychological testing. Our comments on the effects of migration on the children we saw, come from our observations. We noticed that the children from the higher grades were very "cocky" about their origins. The shouts from the others, "Is lie, you don't come from no country", and the protestations, "Yes. My did come from country", suggest this to us. But as we have already remarked, the number of migrants in the upper grades of the schools is small. There was an opposite reaction at the bottom of the school. The children from the country looked, as the field worker reported, "as if they had a weight on their shoulders". They obviously looked less com-

Table 6

SHOWING "MIGRANTS" AT WINDWARD ROAD SCHOOL
DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO GRADES

Total	Grades								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
250	46	26	32	34	29	23	17	27	16

fortable than the other children in their class! A comment from a teacher trying to be helpful to the field worker: "All country bumpkins stand", and the resultant laughter from the rest of the class, indicates that within the school room, the younger migrants have been made to perceive their difference as a burden.

The field worker reported that the rural children looked less tidy than the others and that while some of them could, "as if programmed, nicely recite" their addresses by number, name of street and postal zone, others couldn't (see "Not Clear" on table 3). There are some others who could only say of their addresses such things as "them call it 'site'." This does not mean that these children could not find their way home. They could describe the way home "You see where there is a big grocery store, turn right thereso, then go down a little you see a lane. Turn down the lane..." They had difficulty in communicating their addresses in the city-style-number, street name, zone.

As we have already mentioned, these children left their rural areas after age 5. By that stage of development, they are already part of the rural social system, and its style of perceiving the environment, part of its own. Schools in the rural areas begin at 9 a.m. Children might or might not wear shoes to school. In the city, school begins sometimes before 8 a.m. To be up and about by 8 a.m., to wear shoes, sit confined in them all day, play in them, is a constraint upon a recent migrant. Add to this architectural styles which

compel one to wait to use a lavatory, as happens in the crowded areas to which they come, rather than relieving oneself out-of-doors in or outside of a latrine; which compels one to queue to shower rather than bathing at one's leisure in pan out-doors or under a stand-pipe, and we find that the new migrant to the city is likely to be burdened by adjustment problems.

Behind these rural-urban distinctions and the imperative to adjust, lie problems which are important to formal learning. Behind the problem of learning to communicate one's address in the city style for instance, lies a deeper problem. Rural people distinguish geographich areas by means of natural signs... e.g. "where you see a big mango tree", rather than 28 Bryce Hill Road. The rural thinking sees a large sign, the urban a small; the rural classifies according to nature, the urban according to man-made things. And so on.

It will take the rural child some time therefore to switch from the macro-to the micro-thinking. At the more concrete level, he will also have to learn the items in the urban culture in order to pick up the references on which any conversation hangs. Understanding the teacher will therefore be difficult and a great deal of what is taught must escape him. Unless an effort is made to translate ideas into images with which he is familiar, he is likely to feel foolish, to look as burdened as he looked to the field worker and to be continually distinguishable from his classmates.

As the Census data shows (see table 1 and 2), migration into the city and within the city is predominantly female. As we know 2/, Jamaican women pass through several unions, producing children in each union and settling into marriage as late as age 45. It has been the habit for such mothers to send their children back to their parents in the rural areas to be brought up and for them to take them into their homes, when they feel "settled". This feeling of being "set-

2/ This is fairly well established in the large volume of literature on the Jamaican family.

tled" usually comes with a steady job, a secure relationship with a man and the ability to afford to rent more than one room. It is natural that such a woman migrating from the country, will have difficulty not only in establishing herself in a job, establishing herself in a partnership and getting what she calls decent living quarters, but will have difficulties as well in getting to understand the ways of the city. Her child therefore comes from the rural to the urban zones, to a mother who is not completely comfortable with the urban ways, knows that one has to learn these ways of the country and becomes "citified". Such a child feels forced to change it ways and can get very little help from a mother who is eager for its transformation, but is herself only partially socialized.

In addition to the burden of being pressured by a mother into learning new ways of behaving, the young migrant to the city schools, will probably have to learn to live with a mother who has been absent for most of his life, and to live with her mate who is a stranger to him. Adults leave the country for the town to better themselves. They believe that the rural area and its life-style have nothing to offer them in their quest for mobility. Their children in the country are likely to live with a doting grandmother who leaves them to do what they like. On arrival in the city, their mother is likely to constantly decry the life they have known and liked, and to impose strict supervision on them. No wonder young migrants look burdened! Children especially under the age of ten -and most of our migrants come to Kingston after this age- adjust relatively quickly.

Adjustment, given pressures exerted by an ambitious mother who is herself a recent migrant, probably means not simply learning a new way and having it blend naturally with the other, but the denial of the value of one and a learning to accept the new as the only and valuable one. The "country bumpkin", for the most important persons in his life -his mother/parents and his teacher- is seen not as a person who has learnt some valuable things in the country and will learn some other valuable things from living in the town; he is an object to be transformed.

5. MIGRATION AND TRADITION

Rural and urban migration is part of the Jamaican reality and has been so certainly since the late 1930s. People migrate not merely to get more money but to be part of a life-style they consider to be attractive. Every government since the late 1930s has tried to keep the rural population at home. Despite their efforts, the trek has continued and seems, as we have shown, to be increasing. This means that there is a continuous flow of people socialised into rural ways, moving into the city. These persons, unemployed and seeking jobs, normally stay in the depressed areas of the city. It takes a long time -a generation at least- to move out of these areas and into other areas of the city. The continuous addition of rural people to these depressed areas means the inevitable reinforcement of rural ways. Thus in these depressed areas, now ghettos, there is a folk culture with strong rural aspects.

It is into this psycho-cultural setting that the migrant child and his mother move -a setting, elements of which are familiar to them, and with which they ought to be comfortable. But the socially mobile mother does not care to be comfortable with this culture which is low-statused and which she hoped to have left behind with her migration. She tries instead to learn and to have her child learn another less observable and therefore less easily assimilated one. This rejection of the folk culture by the upwardly mobile is as traditional as the rural-urban migration. It is also painful. This too is traditional. Parents see the education system as the route to learning the new and valued culture and this too is traditional. The

schools obviously have the parents' confidence. They can halt the cycle of rejection and pain. They can begin to halt the rural to urban migration by discrediting the notion that there is something intrinsically wrong with folk-rural ways and thinking. One way to do this is to admit the fact that children and other rural migrants carry with them an authentic way of viewing the world, one which is in fact understood by most of the city, the majority of whom have rural roots.

6. FORMAL TEACHING AND MIGRATION

If the teacher can empathise with the child's difficulties in adjusting to its new environment, he/she can communicate this to the child in their informal interaction. The child will be comfortable in school and will have the psychic energy to attend to other areas of adjustment, such as the immutable: here there are concrete structures where in the country there are trees. If the teacher can get the child to conceptualize his discomfort in this way, then he will feel the reasonable thing -I am in a strange setting but I am not strange. Unfortunately teachers are like the rest of the population and see rural children as "country bumpkins". Techniques for change in and of the perception of the rural child will probably have to come to the teacher through curriculum guidance.

The editor's note to the series Foundations of Self-Development: A Curriculum Guide to School Teachers put out by the Ministry of Education (Jamaica) in 1980 and intended as a guide to school teachers, makes the point that "the child should be encouraged to explore and expand his own life experiences". A cursory glance at its suggestions for grades 1-6, shown no awareness of rural-urban migrations as a fact of Jamaican life. This is fair enough. There are 14 parishes. The KSAC which faces this problem is just one part of the island. If the fact that the KSAC has a problem however were transmitted to rural educational environments, children coming into this area to their parents might be better prepared.

Based on our examination of the experience of migration into the city, we suggest that the following

three points be taken into account in curriculum development in the schools in the City of Kingston and to a lesser extent in the rural areas:

1. That the city of Kingston has rural roots.

2. That there are different yet Jamaican ways of conceptualising reality.

3. That the Jamaican culture distinguishes between Gob-made things and man-made things and uses these distinctions to categorise its environments.

In Social Studies sessions, point N° 1 may be easily explored by reference to the students' and the teachers' own life and family histories. Such an approach would tell the truth at the same time reduce the stigma of having rural roots. Point N° 2 can be very neatly introduced into Language Arts and Drama classes. Analysis of Jamaican stories told or read or dramatised will show the various ways in which the writers and their characters describe their reality. The Bible teems with stories based on the distinction between Gob-made things and man-made things. In fact, its markers for distinguishing time and place, closely resemble that used among rural folk and is possibly derived from it. Point N° 3 could be dealt with in Religious Studies sessions.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Using the Census of Jamaica (1982) and interviews with children in five primary level schools in the City of Kingston, we have established that migration to and within the city continues. It is the migration to the city that interest us. We have discovered that children are among the persons who migrate into the city and that they usually do so between the ages of five and then. Migration from country to town is, in Jamaica, traditional. It also has some psychological traumas associated with it: it is often not merely an effort to make more money but an effort to escape a particular life-style that motivates migration. But people carry their culture with them and with the slow rate of geographic and social mobility in the city and the density of migration from the rural areas, migrants find themselves living in a culture they though they had left behind. The ambitious respond by making a greater effort to escape it. Into this social-psychological setting come children already socialised into the disvalued rural ways, to join their parents -usually their mothers- in the city. They are forced to share their parent's trauma. We have suggested that this trauma need not be and have indicated how the educational system might alleviate it while at the same time, begin the halt in the migration into the city.

DOCUMENTS CONSULTED

1. The Census(es) of Jamaica 1943, 1960, 1970, 1982.

2. Foundations of Self Development. A curriculum guide for the primary stage of education. Grades 1-6. Ministry of Education, Jamaica.

3. Directory of Educational Institutions 1977-1978. Ministry of Education, Jamaica.

APPENDIX 1

Schedule 1

- Re children who have migrated from country zones to Kingston and St. Andrew area.

School:

Location:

Enrolment:

Day's Attendance:

Head Teacher:

Total N° of Migrant Children

Schedule 2 (The same schedule was used for children in grades 1-9)

- Basic data on migrant children.

Grade 1 N°	Name	Address
01		
02		
03		
04		
05		
06		
07		

Grade 1 N° (cont.)	Name	Address
08		
09		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		

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pdica

Enrique Delpiano 2058. (Plaza Pedro de Valdivia) Casilla 3187 - Santiago • CHILE.